

V viewpoint - R. H. Moore. 2/12/63.

Good Evening,

It's been said - and I think rightly too - that Americans had a psychology of non-acceptance - of the Soviet Union. What this means is that the vast majority of Americans - and their leaders - have never really come to accept the Soviet Union as a force with which they must deal on a basis of permanence and equality. In fact many Americans have been known to regard the Soviet Union and its ideology as a menace that can be brushed aside - provided you become sufficiently tough in your dealings with the menace. What was needed was real strength - nuclear strength and the throwing of as many allies - no matter what their regimes were like - by the glittering exhibition of American aid. Then the Communist menace ⁺ will fold up and the "Free World" will have scored a decisive Victory.

Obviously the psychology of non-acceptance grew out of a considerable ignorance - or a wilful underestimation of Russian power and potentialities - coupled with a surcharge of blind emotion.

Oftentimes this psychology of non-acceptance drove Americans to strange behavior. They acted as if Russia had no right to answer

American threats with Russian over - they failed to see that the Russians were as suspicious of American motives and the American system of life as they themselves were suspicious of the Russians and their way of life. When for instance Mr Khrushchev threatened those countries which had allowed the U.S. to maintain Atomic rocket launching sites and those countries from which American planes took off to fly over Russian Territory - the State Department listed them perfectly normal readings as "Soviet Threats of Destruction against the Free World".

It is this psychology of non-acceptance that for a long time prevented the Americans from having an attitude of compromise to the Soviet Union - and it is this too which has led so many of their politicians to believe that America could win the cold war. But what on earth does that mean? It would not mean that the Soviet Union would fade away - nor could it mean that Communism could disappear. Neither of these things are realistic possibilities. On the other hand what Americans failed to realize is that Russia could not win the cold war either. But you see this feeling of being able to win the cold war - a struggle

more unlike any that has ever gone on before - this feeling is largely responsible for what used to be a two-compromise attitude on both sides. But last year the Cuban crisis did two things: it ^{shook} convinced the Americans ^{briefly} that non-acceptance of Russia was foolish and it taught the Russians that Americans can mean business.

But perhaps the force that did most for destroying the American psychology of non-acceptance was not a man collision but a man - John Kennedy. Much has been said in praise of him - of his bravery, his youth and his leadership. What I see as most important in him is his assault on the lack of realism in the American approach to Russia. He made several mistakes - some of them like the Bay of Pigs fiasco almost unforgivably deep in a leader of such stature. But he certainly brought to the summer of American politics an urgency & acquainted the American people with the real danger they faced in the nuclear impasse. He also tried to teach them that the Cold War does not have to be hot - because it is something that neither side can win. He eventually tried to convince them of the futility and disadvantage

of constantly challenging Russia in Eastern Europe. and above all he tried to get things and based ^{more} on the idea of freeing countries of oppression backwardness than of saving them from Communism. Perhaps it is because he showed an imaginative understanding of the real relationship between the U.S.A and the U.S.S.R - a relationship based on mutual strength and therefore one that should lead to mutual respect - that he earned the respect of Mr Khrushchev - and this is the greatest testimony to him as a man. For Mr Khrushchev's respect is not lightly given.

The Americans could do well to build upon and extend Kennedy's psychology of acceptance - for only in this way can they intelligently conduct the competition between the world's two wholops.